MARCO POLO AND JAPAN

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THE ITALIAN INSTITUTE of Middle and Extrem Orient has done me a great honour in inviting me to give a lecture on Marco Polo at his seven hundred anniversary. My lecture, which is entitled "Marco Polo and Japan", consists of two parts. In the first part, I shall talk about the description of Japan given by Marco Polo. In the second part, I shall refer to what has been done by Japanese scholars on Marco Polo.

As is well known, Marco Polo devotes two full chapters of his book to Japan. Marco Polo did not reach the court of Khubilai Khan until the middle of 1274 and he left China at the end of 1290.[1] So his description of Japan may have been based on what he had heard in China during his stay of about seventeen years. The Mongol invasions of Japan took place in 1274 and 1281. Both of them ended in failure, but Khubilai Khan and his successor did not give up the idea but went on preparing a third invasion.[2] So the people in China would have been very much interested in Japan and it is quite natural that Marco Polo gave a description of Japan. But, to our surprise, his knowledge of Japan is very poor, and, moreover, he says almost nothing about Korea,[3] although it was under the complete supremacy of the Mongols and played an important part in their invasions of Japan.

The scantiness of Marco Polo's knowledge about Japan may be ascribed to the scantiness of that knowledge among the Chinese people in general. Even Khubilai Khan and his higher officials do not seem to have had a good deal of knowledge about Japan. However, scantiness does not necessarily mean inaccuracy. Marco Polo's description seems to me very faithful to what he probably heard. That is to say, he never exaggerates what he had heard or invent any description. And I think this is Marco Polo's attitude throughout his book.

Now let me examine what he states about Japan. I take as the basis of my argument the so-called composite text prepared by Professor A. C. Moule and his translation.

Marco Polo says: " Çipingu is an island to the sunrising which is on the high sea 1500 miles distant from the land of Mangi. It is an exceedingly great island. The people of it are white, fair fashioned, and beautiful, and of good manners. They are idolaters and keep themselves by themselves, that is they are ruled by their own king, but pay tribute to no other, and have no lordship of any other man than themselves." It is established that Çipingu is identical with Japan and it represents Jih-pên-kuo or kingdom of Japan.

Japan had been called Jih-pên-kuo by Japanese themselves since the seventh century, but in China it had been generally called Wei-kuo or the country of the Wei people up to the periods of Sung and Yüan when this name was replaced by Jih-pên-kuo. Marco Polo's statement that " Çipingu is an island to the sunrising " must have something to do with the meaning of this name, literally, " the source of the sun ".[4)]

According to Marco Polo, the distance to Japan from Mangi was 1500 (or 1250 according to another text) miles. Mangi is the designation of south China, which Khubilai subjugated in 1279. It had been traditional in China to count the distance to a foreign country from the capital of China or from the seat of government which controlled that foreign country. Marco Polo mentioned the distance not from Peking, where the capital of the Mongol empire was, but from Mangi. This is because it was ports in south China, such as Ning-po, Shanghai, and so on, that had had connection with Japan at that time.

Marco Polo says that Japan is an island exceedingly big and the people are white, fairfashioned, beautiful, and of good manners. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any contemporary statements which could be compared with this. But it is true that the Japanese had had a fairly good reputation among the Chinese people. For instance, the

Wei-chih or the History of Wei of the third century says that " women are not loose in morals. There are class distinctions among the people, and some men are vassals of others " [5] and the Old and New Histories of T'ang say that " the people are literate and reverse the teaching of Buddha ".[6] According to the History of Sung, Bk. 491, fol. 2 *b*, the emperor of Sung admired in 984 the unbroken line of the emperor of Japan. The statement of Marco Polo may have nothing to do with this earlier reputation of Japan. However, it is likely that he wrote (or dictated) what he had heard in China. Now, it is a traditional belief of the Chinese that an ideal country exists in the extreme East, as well as in the extreme West.[7] The emperor Shi-hoang-ti, the first unifier of China, sent embassies in the third century B. C., for the purpose of procuring elixir of life, to a country which was believed to exist in the ocean to the east of China. There is, however, nothing to prove that a similar belief still existed among the Chinese at the time of Marco Polo.

Marco Polo empasizes the political independence of Japan. And this is quite true of Japan, which had repulsed the invasion of the Mongols.

Marco Polo proceeds to say: " Moreover I tell you that they have gold in great abandance, because gold is found there beyond measure. Moreover I tell you that no man takes gold out from that island, because the king does not allow it to be taken from the mainland, because it is so far, and ships are rarely brought there from other regions, for it abounds in all things; and therefore I tell you that they have so much gold that it is wonderful thing, as I have told you, so that they do not know what to do with it. Moreover I shall tell you a great wonder of the immense excellence of wealth of a palace of the lord, that is the chief ruler of this island, according to what the men who know the country say ". Then Marco Polo tells us that the palace was covered with sheets of gold; the pavements of the hall and some of the rooms of this palace were paved with golden tiles which were of more than two fingers in thickness; and all other parts of the palace and halls and windows were likewise decorated with gold. He says that no one could tell the worth of this palace of the king of Japan.

This description is especially famous for the reason that Columbus is said to have been stimulated by it to start his expedition with the aim of reaching Çipingu.

As far as I know, there are two bodies of opinion about this statement. The one holds that it really does give information about the abundance of gold in Japan, though the story concerning the golden palace is an old yarn repeated from generation to generation. The other holds that the description is quite fabulous from beginning to end. Pauthier admits the abundance and low price of gold in Japan according to the experience of Europeans at the middle of the 19th century.[8] And Yule denies the reliability of the story of the golden palace, which he considers as a tall story.[9] Tabohashi, who published an article concerning the contribution of Marco Polo to the development of geographical knowledge of the world, was of the opinion that the description was a reproduction of a legend or a traditional belief which had existed in Europe from ancient times.[10] According to him, among the Europeans there had been a tradition that a country very rich in gold existed in the East, and Marco Polo is identifying this legendary country with Japan. As far as I know, Herodotus (IV, 13) may be the first or one of the earliest authors who wrote about the gold abundantly preserved in the easternmost part of the Asiatic continent, which is guarded by a griffin. In 1639, that is to say, thirty years after the opening of their trade with Japan, the Dutch dispatched two ships under the command of Captain Matthijs Quast to look for islands somewhere east of Japan in about latitude $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, where it had been reported, gold and silver were so common that the natives made kettles out of them. It was said that Spanish ships had been driven there in a storm, but the Spanish, it was deemed, being by God held unworthy, had never rediscovered this desirable shore. If the Dutch could do so, the profit might enable the Dutch East India Company to surmount the financial difficulty under which it was labouring. However, unfortunately, none of these purposes was fulfiled. Quast reached a point 600 miles of more east of Japan, but saw no lands, and, after wandering about the North Pacific for twenty weeks in bad weather, the ships returned

with forty-one men dead out of a company of ninety.[11] This shows that a more or less similar tradition existed from the 5th century B. C. to the middle of the 17th century and that it is not impossible to look upon the description of Marco Polo as nothing but legendary.

But my opinion is that Marco Polo's description is based on the fact that at the time he was in China a considerable amount of gold was imported from Japan at a very low price and that Japan was recognized as a country of extreme abundance in gold. As this is a point which had not been much studied by European scholars, I shall talk on this somewhat in detail.

It was in 894 that Japan stopped her official intercourse and trade with China under the T'ang, because of the dangers of voyage and the unsteadiness of the Chinese social and political situation at the end of the 9th century. For some three centuries after that the Japanese government was negative in its foreign trade policy. But individual Japanese, who wanted very much to have Chinese products and to learn about Buddhism and Confucianism, went to China privately, where they were warmly welcomed. China was under the Sung from 960 to 1279, when it was completely overrun by the Mongols. The government of the Sung did its best to promote overseas trade in order to relieve its financial difficulties, the results of wars with invaders from the north, including the Mongols. In 1127 the Sung forces abandoned north China to their enemy and after that the government became more anxious than ever to trade with foreign countries. Thus, in spite of the negative attitude of the Japanese government, private intercourse and trade between China and Japan had gone on increasing.[12]

When Taira no Kiyomori, the head of the new warriors' regime, ruled Japan in the latter half of the 12th century, he realized the necessity of promoting foreign trade and encouraged trade with China in every way. The policy of Taira no Kiyomori, which was in accordance with the demand of the Japanese at that time, was followed by his successors in the military regime up to 1639 when the Tokugawa Shogunate closed the country to foreigners except the Chinese and the Dutch.

During the period of unofficial intercourse the Japanese imported incense, materia medica, textiles, books, and many other things which promoted the civilization of Japan. Zen Buddhism came to Japan during this period and became a means of cultivating the mind of the military class who were at the top of the society. Tea was introduced to Japan. I must not forget either to mention the importation of a huge amount of Chinese coins imported in the 15th and 16th centuries, had a very close connection with the development of the Japanese internal economy.[13]

Now, what had been exported from Japan to China? The *Pao-hing Ssŭ-ming-chih*, Bk. 6, a local gazetteer of what is now Ning-po, compiled in the years of Pao-hing (1225-1227), enumerates the followings as products imported from Ning-po:

Gold, alluvial gold, pearls, mercury, antler (deer's horn), fu-ling (pachyma cocos), sulphur, mother of pearl, mats made of grass, and timber of three sorts-pine, Japanese cedar, and Japanese cypress.

Ning-po was the most important port in Sino-Japanese trade throughout Sung, Yüan and Ming times. And these products were brought to China much more by Japanese merchants than by Chinese. Timber of Japanese cedar and Japanese cypress are also mentioned by Chau Ju-kua as among the main products exported from Japan to China.[14] And these timber, as well as sulphur, were looked upon as very important by the Chinese government at the time.[15] But there was one thing which was still more famous. It was gold.[16] *Hui-ch'ing Ssŭ-ming-hsü-chih*, Bk. 8, which is also a local gazetteer of Ning-po and was compiled in 1259, that is to say, the year before Khubilai's ascension to the throne, tells us in some detail about the trade in gold with Japan. It is said that at the beginning this gold had always been brought by Japanese merchants, who, however, had not been allowed to sell it to private Chinese merchants. One fifteenth or one nineteenth was taken as tax by the government of Sung, which also bought the rest at a price officially fixed. This means that all the gold brought by Japanese merchants was bought by the Chinese government and no private handling was allowed. But this policy had caused much trouble. Cunning Chinese merchants and

customs officers who had acted as go-betweens took gold from the Japanese merchants on the pretext that they would sell it on their behalf at a higher price than the government would pay for it. It happened quite often that the merchants or customs officers embezzled the gold, preventing the Japanese from pressing for payment by threatening to disclose that they had attempted private handling which had been strictly forbidden. In 1258, the government of Sung changed its policy and allowed the Japanese merchants to sell their gold to anyone who wanted to buy it. This reform was made at the suggestion of Wu Hsien, the local governor of Ning-po. According to him, the amount of gold imported by the Japanese merchants was rather small and had not much effect on the total amount of the national income of the government.[17] The total amount of gold brought to Ning-po by Japanese merchants is not clearly known, but, the late Professor Katô (Shigeshi) has estimated it as about five or four thousand *liang* in some year.[18] Five thousand *liang* approximately equals to 190 kilogrammes. If we take into consideration the gold brought to other ports than Ning-po, the total amount of gold imported to China from Japan would have amounted to at least several thousand *liang* a year. The estimate is based on the recorded figures in years when the private handling of gold had not been allowed, and the true figure must have been considerably higher.

If, as Wu Hsien says, the total amount was not huge, it must have been not the total amount of gold, but its low price that made the Chinese imagine that it was extremely abundant in Japan. Unfortunately, we have no record which tells us the selling price of gold to the Chinese. One thing which is quite obvious is that it was much cheaper in Japan than in China. In Japan the value of gold in relation to silver was 1 to 3 at that time, while in China it was 1 to 12.[19] Moreover, the value of gold in relation to copper coins was much higher in China than that in Japan, where the Chinese copper coins were in great demand.[20] Therefore, for the Japanese merchants on the one hand, it was very profitable to bring gold to China, and for the Chinese merchants, on the other, it was very profitable to buy gold from the Japanese.

The low price of gold, it seems to me, was not the only reason which made the Chinese imagine the extreme abundance of gold in Japan. Under the Sung and Yüan, many Japanese works of art and craftmanship were exported to China, where they had a good reputation. Among other things, works of gold and silver lacquer, with designs representing landscape, flowers, houses, human figures, and so on, were made very much of by the Chinese.[21] These works would have also made the Chinese sure of the extreme abundance of gold and silver in Japan. I wonder if the description of Marco Polo concerning the royal palace of Japan, of which the roof and floor were paved with gold, had something to do with houses and palaces represented on these works of silver and gold lacquer. Pauthier refers to the *Hsü-wên-hsien-t'ung-kao* edited by Wang Chi in 1586, which says that in the city where the emperor of Japan lives there is a building, nine storeyed, and covered with yellow gold.[22] This may be referring to the Kinkakuji Temple built in Kyôto by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in 1397. This building, unfortunately burnt down some years ago, was three storeyed and originally it was covered with gold leaf. If so, the description of Wang Chi can have nothing to do with that of Marco Polo.

These brief explanations will be sufficient to show that the description of Marco Polo about the abundance of gold in Japan is based on the beliefs of the Chinese of his time.

Marco Polo states that the king of Japan did not easily allow the export of gold and that no man went to the island of Japan (from China). In this point he is quite wrong. His statement may reflect the fact that no official trade or exchange of embassies was made under the Sung and Yüan, of which the latter was the enemy of Japan. But the Mongol government always showed itself very friendly to the Japanese merchants who went to China even during the interval between the two expeditions against Japan. And the merchants continued to bring gold to China where it was in great demand.[23]

Then Marco Polo speaks about pearls and precious stones in Japan. "They have large white pearls in this island in infinite abundance; and

even if they are red, yet they are very beautiful and round and large and of great value. And they are of as great price and worth as the white and more. And in this island some are buried when they are dead, some are burnt; but in the mouth of everyone who is buried when they are dead is put one of these pearls, and such custom is kept among them. They have also many other precious stones enough there. And for this cause it is an island so rich that none could any way tell the richess of it."

In connection with this, Yule quotes Kaempfer who writes about pearls produced in Kyûshû, westernmost of the four islands and where the Mongols invaded; Pauthier says nothing on pearls; and Charignon is doubtful of the existence of red pearls, which Yule translates rose-tinted pearl.

As I said earlier, pearls had been one of the most important things exported to China from Japan. Japanese pearls had been famous among the Chinese since the first quarter of the third century.[24] And during the Sung and Yüan, Japanese pearls had been made much of by the Chinese. The *Konjaku Monogatari* compiled in the 11th century and the *Ujishûi Monogatari* compiled at the beginning of the 13th century, both of which are Japanese collection of stories, tell us stories of the Japanese who made a great profit by selling pearls to the Chinese under the Sung.[25] Ting Fu, a Chinese man of letters in the 14th century, composed a poem which praised the superiority of the Japanese pearl, saying that " a pearl of one inch in diameter emits light in the night ".[26] Pearls have been produced in several parts of Japan. At the time of Marco Polo the pearl of Ise (or Shima) were the best and most famous.[27] The pearls produced there, which were called *shiratama*, or white pearl, were white with a slight tint of blue. There is a record that the Chinese were very fond of this sort of pearl in the 18th century.[28] The pearls of Ise were the best in the 18th century as they still are. I can not trace any Japanese documents which tell of the existence of red pearls in the 12th and 13th centuries, but we have evidence that in the 17th century a red-tinted pearl had been produced in Ise (or Shima) and that it was called *akadama* or red pearl.[29] The statement of Marco Polo concerning the red or

rose-tinted pearls of Japan may, therefore, be well grounded, because it is quite possible that there existed a similar kind of red pearl in Japan in his time.

Marco Polo says that the Japanese put a pearl in the mouth of the dead, who were buried. Such was rather the custom of the Chinese, who put a worked jade called *han* in the mouth of the dead. I can not trace the same custom in any Japanese record, and I wonder if Marco Polo, who knew the custom among the Chinese, imagined that the Japanese had the same.

Marco Polo proceeds to tell about the Mongol invasion of Japan. He attributes the reason for the invasion to the " nobility and wealth " of the island of Japan, which Khubilai wanted to obtain. As far as I know, four explanations have been given of why the Mongols invaded Japan. The first, which is the one most commonly given, is that Khubilai, who had subjugated Korea and a large part of China, desired to conquer Japan, which was a little island to the east of Korea. It had been a traditional idea of the Chinese emperor to let the whole of the world known to him pay tribute to him. According to this traditional idea, the world known to the Chinese was to be the dominion of the Chinese emperor. If anyone declined to pay respect or tribute to the emperor, the emperor was authorized to punish him. Khubilai decided to send armies to Japan to punish the disroyality of the Japanese who did not obey his order to come to pay respect. This is very clearly stated in his letter to Japan, which he concluded as follows: " No one would like to appeal to arms. You, the king of Japan, could choose a better way ".[30]

The second explanation is that Korea, which had been suffering from the inroad of the Japanese, wanted to destroy Japan and suggested to Khubilai that he should destroy it. But I can not agree to this explanation. It was at the end of the Yüan and under the Ming when the Japanese went out for trade and pillage to the coasts of Korea and of south China, and when both the Chinese and the Korean governments were hard put to it to drive them away. And there is no sufficient proof that Korea was suffering from Japanese inroads at the time of Marco

Polo. Moreover, Korea was very hesitant about helping the Mongols to invade Japan. The Koreans tried to persuade Khubilai to stop the invasion, arguing that the conquest of Japan would be useless, because of the difficulty of getting there and of its very small country.[31]

The third reason given for the invasion is that the original intention of Khubilai was to trade with Japan, but the Japanese could not understand this and so were subjected to the invasion. It is true that Khubilai was very desirous to promote overseas trade and that he had the perseverance to try six times in seven years, from 1266 to 1274, to persuade Japan to come and pay him respect. And it is rather surprising to see that the Mongol invasion had almost no effect on the Sino–Japanese trade at that time. Even during the interval of these two invasions, Japanese merchantmen went to south China to trade and were welcomed by the Chinese and the Mongol government. Khubilai and his successor continued to prepare for a third invasion, which was never carried out, but the trade went on as usual between the two countries.[32] At this time, many more Japanese ships went to China than Chinese ones came to Japan. Neither the Japanese nor the Mongol government had ever established any regulations to prevent the trade. Hakata in Kyûshû and Ning–po in Chê–chiang were the two most important ports for this trade. It is very clear that for Khubilai it was one thing to conquer Japan, and another to trade with it. If his intention had merely been to trade with Japan, he would have never invaded the country. Khubilai's policy was to accept any private person or the representative of any country who came to him, and it may have been due both to this policy and to the actual huge profit of the trade with Japan that he had always encouraged Sino–Japanese trade. The Japanese also were very anxious to import Chinese products.

The fourth explanation is very similar to the third. It says that Khubilai was charmed by the wealth of Japan and decided to conquer the country. This is the explanation given by Marco Polo. But Marco Polo was not the only one who had given such an explanation. His Chinese contemporary named Chêng Ssŭ–hsiao was of the same opinion. He

writes in his *Sin-shih* as follows.[33] "The Mongols heard of the wealth of Japan and tried to persuade the Japanese to submit to them. But the Japanese would not obey. Khubilai got angry, ordered the people to prepare as many battleships as possible, and tried to conquer Japan, where he wished to obtain what treasures he could find." Thus, at the time of Khubilai, there was this sort of explanation among the Chinese, and Marco Polo may have written as he had heard. It is quite natural that Khubilai may have taken into account the wealth of Japan, if he ever considered it a very rich country, when he decided to invade it. But, as a matter of fact, he was informed by Chao Liang-pi, who went to Japan on his behalf, that the Japanese were uncultured and that the country was poor. Chao Liang-pi believed it quite useless to conquer Japan, because one could not expect any profit from it.[34] Khubilai, however, did not act on this advice but attacked Japan twice, although in vain.

So I believe that the Mongol invasion of Japan was only for the glory and honour of the Mongols, who had almost accomplished the conquest of the Far East. But it matters little to decide what was the real reason for the Mongol invasion of Japan. I am very satisfied to know that Marco Polo wrote just as his contemporary thought in China. He was always very faithful to what he had heard.

Marco Polo describes somewhat in detail the progress of the battle between the invaders and the Japanese. He says that two commanders named Abacan and Vonsamchin set sail from Çaiton and Quinsai for Japan, where they captured a large plain and a great number of hamlets; but a great wind broke many of their battleships and caused many of the soldiers to perish; two commanders escaped from the storm and went back to China; thirty thousand soldiers took refuge on an island which was not large and was uninhabited, near the large island of Japan; the lord and people of the large island attacked this small island, but the Tartar soldiers seized the Japanese fleet and removed to the large island where they occupied the city and killed many people; the lord of the large island seized the city after it had been thus occupied for seven months; at last the Tartar soldiers gave themselves up on the condition that their lives

should be spared, but that they should never quit the island. According to Moule, this was in the year 1269. This date is given in other MSS. as 1264, 1279, and so on.

As is well known, the Mongols invaded Japan twice, in 1274 and 1281. And in both cases, they were defeated by storms which the Japanese called the providential wind. But the description of Marco Polo definitely refers to the second invasion in 1281, except as it asserts that the Mongols captured a plain and hamlets in the large island, which is identical with the island of Kyûshû. In the second invasion, the Mongols never did get ashore on the mainland of Kyûshû. Abacan, who is generally and rightly identified with Alakhan, and Vonsamchin, who is generally identified with Fan Wên-hu,[35] were two commanders of the fleet which started from Ning-po and Ting-hai near Ning-po in 1281. But Alakhan could not join the campaign because of his illness and Atahai took his place. Marco Polo is in error in saying that Abacan went to Japan and that the fleet started from Çaiton and Quinsai. The fleet joined the other one which came down from Korea and the two fleets concentrated at Takashima island, or the island of the Eagle. This is a small island, quite near to the mainland of Kyûshû where the invading army wanted to land. It was in the neighbourhood of this small island that the Mongol fleets were destroyed by the storm. Two commanders went back to China on strong boats which survived the storm and, according to the History of Yüan,[36] more than a hundred thousand soldiers were left helpless on the island. Some of them prepared boats by themselves and escaped, but most of them were killed on the island by the Japanese army who attacked them, the remaining twenty or thirty thousand of them being captured. The island in the description of Marco Polo, where three hundred thousand soldiers took refuge, is identical with this Takashima, not Hiratoshima as identified by Pauthier.[37] In any case, the description of Marco Polo coincides fairly well with the account in the History of Yüan. The defeat of the Mongol army in the vicinity of the island of Takashima and on it was reported by three soldiers who were fortunate enough to get back to China. Marco Polo may have learnt this from

hearsay and recorded in his book what he had heard. It is rather astonishing that Marco Polo had such a scanty knowledge about the Mongol invasion of Japan, which was carried out during his stay in China. And this shows clearly that he was not in a position to be well informed on matters of great political importance.[38)]

II) STUDIES MADE BY JAPANESE SCHOLARS ON MARCO POLO

It was Marco Polo who had made Japan known among the Europeans, but the Japanese knew nothing about him untili the latter half of the 19th century. Marco Polo's description of Japan was first translated into Japanese and published in a periodical named *Meijikai-sôshi*, No. 3, which was issued sometime before August 1889. This translation was reproduced in 1891 in the *Fukutekihen* (Vol. 4, pp. 48–53) or, a collection of Japanese and Chinese materials concerning the Mongol invasion of Japan, edited by Yamada (Yasuhide). In 1892, Tsuboi (Kumazô) published an introductory note about the book of Marco Polo in the *Shigaku Zasshi*, or Journal of Historical Sudies (Vol. III, No. 28, pp. 217 ff.). Another Japanese translation of the description of Marco Polo on Japan appeared in 1908 in the *Ôbeijin no Nihonkan* (Vol. I, pp. 1–9), or European and American views of Japan. But the Japanese scholars soon realized that the book of Marco Polo was invaluable material for the history of Asia in the 13th and 14th centuries, and they have studied in very earnestly. Though they have not had direct access to MSS. or old printed editions of the book, they have been provided with excellent works prepared by eminents scholars in Europe, such as Pauthier, Yule, Cordier, Benedetto, and so on, in relation to textual criticism, and the restoration of the original text, as well as translations and commentaries.

In 1916, the famous collection of the late Dr. G. E. Morrison came to Japan. This collection is the nucleus of the present Tôyô Bunko, to which I belong, and, for the first time in Japan we had a systematic collection of several printed editions of Marco Polo, including the first Latin

edition published at Antwerp in 1485.[39] The coming of the Morrison collection was an epoch-making event for Marco Polo studies in Japan.

Thus, up to the present, five Japanese translations of Marco Polo have been published; the first in 1911 by Uriu (Tora), the second in 1914 by Ubukata (Toshirô), the third in 1936 by Fukazawa (Shôsaku), the fourth (incomplete) in 1948 by Professor Iwamura (Shinobu), and the fifth in 1954 by Professor Aoki (Tomitarô).[40] All of these are retranslations from the English translations of Marsden, Yule, Komroff, and so on, except the one by Iwamura, which is, according to the author's preface, a translation of a composite text prepared by himself. It would, therefore, be of some interest to compare his composite text with one prepared by Professor Moule. Iwamura's book will be completed in three volumes, of which only the first has yet appeared. The second volume will cover the latter half of the translation of his composite text and the third will consist of commentaries, which are being prepared in collaboration with Professor Ishida (Mikinosuke), former librarian of the Tôyô Bunko, and Professor Fujieda (Akira), both specialists in Marco Polo studies.

In addition to these translations of the text, two books have been published for the general readers. In 1948 Professor Aoki (Tomitarô) published a book entitled " Marco Polo " and in 1951 Professor Iwamura published another with the same title. They are both small books of about two hundred pages or so, but, being based on the studies made by both European and Japanese scholars, including the authors themselves, they are very useful as a guide to Marco Polo studies.

The most important contribution of Japanese scholars to the study of Marco Polo is their work on the geography and history of China and Central Asia. Japanese scholars are in a position to be able to make full use of the works published by European scholars, as well as of Chinese and Central Asian materials, to which they have easy access in their country. But, much of their work has been published in articles which do not deal only with Marco Polo, the number of articles devoted to Marco Polo being rather few. I shall conclude my lecture by enumerating some of them.

The first concern of Japanese scholars who studied Marco Polo was whether Marco Polo's name appeared in the History of Yüan or not. As is well known, Pauthier was the first who identified Marco Polo with a certain Polo under the years 1277, 1282 and so on in the History of Yüan. It was E. H. Parker who denied this identification in 1901 and 1904.[41] In Japan in 1914 Tanaka (Suiichirô) also denied the identity. Tanaka did not know of Parker's articles, but he denied the identification in a much more convincing way than Parker.[42] This question was taken up several times by Pelliot, who identified Polo of the History of Yüan with Pulad chingsang of Rashîdu-'d-în.[43] Very recently, Professor Maejima (Shinji) has confirmed the accuracy of the identification proposed by Pelliot.[44] Mr. Saeki (Yoshirô) has also referred to the unreliability of identifying Marco Polo with Polos in the History of Yüan and other documents under the Yüan. But there is nothing new in his argument.[45]

The second concern of Japanese scholars has been with Marco Polo's descriptions of China, Mongolia and other parts of Central Asia. But, as I have told you just now, these have been mostly published as a part of articles dealing primarily with other subjects than Marco Polo. As for the articles specially concerned with Marco Polo, Fujita (Toyohachi) and Kuwabara (Jituzô) published additional notes to the commentaries prepared by Yule and Cordier. Fujita,[46] having rejected Yule's identification of Kinsay (Quinsai) with Ching-shih or metropolis, identified it with Hingtsai, a Chinese appellation for the temporary headquarters of the emperor under the Sung, which was at the present Hangchou in Chê-chiang. He also published a note made by a Chinese author under the Yüan concerning the Chinese pagoda at Ma'bar on the Coromandel coast of India and made it clear that the pagoda was established in 1267. Kuwabara[47] added some notes and corrections to Cordier's "Notes and Addenda" published in 1920, as well as to the third edition of Yule. In 1939, Professor Fujieda published a translation of Marco Polo's description of Inner Mongolia, to which he added commentaries.[48] In 1948, an article dealing with Sinjumatu, a Chinese town in the present Shang-tung, was published by Mr. Sudô (Takashi).[49] In addition to these, there

are articles by Yoshihara (Kôhei), Shimada (Sadahiko), Itô (Nobumi), Saeki (Yoshirô), Iwamura (Shinobu), Fujieda (Akira) and Professor Otagi (Matsuo).[50] Among others, Otagi's article is very important. He has established that Marco Polo reached in the middle of 1274 (11th year of Chih-yüan) to Shang-tu where he saw Khubilai and that he left China at the end of 1290 (27th year of Chih-yüan). Otagi has corrected in a convincing way the traditional view that Marco Polo came to China in 1275 and left there in 1292. This is one of the most important contributions to the study of Marco Polo, which has ever been made by the Japanese.

I earnestly hope that an edition of Marco Polo will be published, in which the studies made by Japanese scholars will be fully collected so that it can be seen at a glance what contributions they have made, in the same way as Yule and Cordier have done for the studies made by European scholars.

Finally, let me add one thing about the reproduction of the first printed edition of Pipino's Latin translation, which was prepared by the National Diet Library of Japan in collaboration with the Tôyô Bunko, where the original copy is preserved. This was published in 1951 and many of you may have already seen a copy.[51] According to the researches of Professor Benedetto and Professor Moule, there are fifty or fifty-one MSS. and four printed editions of Pipino's Latin version now extant, together with six MSS. and three printed editions of translations into six European languages. This Latin version was prepared in 1230, that is to say, while Marco Polo was still alive. Many copies were made as well as translations into several European languages, and some retranslations into Latin and Italian were more or less based on this text; it contributed very much to the development of geographical and cosmological knowledge in the later Middle ages and the Renaissance. The copy reproduced by the National Diet Library and the Tôyô Bunko is the Antwerp printed edition of 1485. It was a copy of the same edition, the copy now preserved at Columbiana in Sevilla, that Columbus read and which inspired him to organize his voyage in search of Çipingu. The Tôyô Bunko reproduced the book in the hope that it would be re-examined by specialists and that

it might contribute something to the reconstruction of the original text of the " Description of the world ", because the book had never been reprinted since the 17th century, and so little attention has ever been paid to this version by scholars when they have tried to collate and reconstruct the original text of Marco Polo.

The two facts, that the Tôyô Bunko has the best collection of books concerning Marco Polo not only in Japan but anywhere in the Far East, and that the Tôyô Bunko has reproduced the first Latin printed edition, made me decide to accept the invitation of this Institute to deliver a lecture on Marco Polo, for which I am really unqualified. I shall be very happy if I have been successful in giving you the idea that, rather poor as it is, Marco Polo's description of Japan seems to be very faithful to what he probably heard in China, and also in giving you a general survey of what has been done on Marco Polo by Japanese scholars.

NOTES

1) OTAGI (Matsuo), *Marco Polo Genchô taizai nenjikô* (*A chronological study of Marco Polo's stay in China*), *Bunka*, XV, 2, 1951, pp. 31–44.

2) IKEUCHI (Hiroshi), *Genkô no shinkenkyû* (*A new study of the Mongol invasions of Japan*), Tôkyô, 1921, pp. 377 ff.

3) Marco Polo mentions Cauli or Korea only as one of the dominion of Nayan. Cf. MARSDEN, pp. 270, 272–273; YULE–CORDIER, I, pp. 343, 345 n.; BENEDETTO, p. 69 and note; MOULE, I, p. 200.

4) According to the Old History of T'ang (*Chiu T'ang–shu*, Bk. 199 *a*, fol. 6 *b*), Japan was called Jih–pên because it was situated near the sun. The New History of T'ang (*Hsin T'ang–shu*, Bk. 220, fol. 7 *a*) says that the name of Jih–pên originated in the fact that the country was near the place where the sun rose.

5) TSUNODA (Ryûsaku), *Japan in Chinese dynastic histories*, South Pasedena, 1951, p. 12.

6) TSUNODA, *ibid.*, p. 38.

7) SHIRATORI (Kurakichi), *Seiikishi kenkyû*, II, Tôkyô, 1944, pp. 328 ff. According to Shiratori, *Wei–liao* and *Wei–shu* are based on this belief when they state that the people of Ta–ch'in are tall, up–right in their dealings. Cf. F. HIRTH, *China and the Roman Orient*, Shanghai and Hongkong, 1885, pp. 70, 50.

8) PAUTHIER, pp. 539–540 n. 2.

9) YULE–CORDIER, II, p. 256 n. 3.

10) TABOHASHI (Kiyoshi), *Marco Polo to sono chirishiteki kenkyû* (*Marco Polo and his contribution to the development of geographical knowledge*), *Rekishichiri*, LXIV, 1934, p. 485.

11) J. C. BEAGLEHOLE, *The exploration of the Pacific*, 2nd ed., London, 1947, pp. 168–169.

12) There are several books and articles which are dealing with the Sino–Japanese trade during the Sung, and, among others, MORI (Katsumi), *Nissô bôeki no kenkyû* (*A study of Sino–Japanese trade during the Sung*), Tôkyô, 1948, gives more thorough and detailed informations than the rest. KIMIYA (Yasuhiko), *Nisshi kôtsûshi* (*A history of Sino–Japanese intercourse*), 2 vols., Tôkyô, 1925–26; TSUJI (Zennosuke), *Kaigai kôtsûshiwa* (*A history of Japanese intercourse with foreign countries*), Tôkyô, 1929; SHIDA (Fudômaro), *Tôyôshijô no Nihon* (*Japan in history of Far East*), Tôkyô, 1940, are dealing with not only the trade but also the general aspect of Sino–Japanese relations throughout the ages.

13) OBATA (Jun), *Nihon kahei ryûtsûshi* (*A history of Japanese currency*), Tôkyô, 1930, pp. 5–19; MORI, *Nissô bôeki no kenkyû*, pp. 474–489.

14) F. HIRTH and W. W. ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju–kua*, St. Petersburg, 1912, p. 171.

15) FUJITA (Toyohachi), *Tôzai kôshôshi no kenkyû* (*A study of history of Chinese relations with foreign countries, collection of articles*), *Nankaiben*, Tôkyô, 1932, pp. 493 ff.; MORI, *Nissô bôeki no kenkyû*, pp. 271–272.

16) Concerning the Sino–Japanese trade in gold, see FUJITA (Toyohachi), *Sôdai yunyû no Nihonka ni tsuite* (*Japanese products imported to China during the Sung*) in the *Tôzai kôshôshi no kenkyû, Nankaiben*, pp. 496 ff.; KATÔ (Shigeshi), *Tô Sô jidai ni okeru kin gin no kenkyû* (*A study of gold and silver used as circulating medium during the T'ang and Sung*), II, Tôkyô, 1926, pp. 552 ff.; MORI, *Nissô bôeki no kenkyû*, pp. 265–266.

17) FUJITA, *op. cit.*, pp. 498–499.

18) KATÔ, *op. cit.*, pp. 557–559.

19) According to a record entitled *Gosokui yôtoki* or a report of expenditure of the ceremony of enthronement in the sixth year of Einin (1298), the value of gold in this year in relation to silk cloth was three times as much as that of silver, while the value of gold in relation to silver in 1085 was 1 to 5 (OBATA, *Nihon kahei ryûtsûshi*, pp. 260–261). The late Professor Katô has established the ratio of the value of gold to that of silver under the Sung as follows:

A. D. 948–1002	1 : 6.3	(a little less than)
1126	1 : 13.3	(a little over)
1134	1 : 13	» »
1195–1224	1 : 12.1	» »

(KATÔ, *Tô Sô jidai ni okeru kin gin no kenkyû*, II, p. 475; L. S. YANG, *Money and Credit in China*, Cambridge, Mass., 1952, p. 48). Under the Yüan the value of gold in relation to that of silver was 1 to 7.5 or 10 (MAEDA (Naonori), *Genchôjidai ni okeru shihei no kachi hendô* or *A study of fluctuation of the value of paper currency under the Yüan*, *Rekishigaku kenkyû*, No. 126, 1947, pp. 27–32). This ratio was fixed officially by the Mongol government.

20) OBATA, *Nihon kahei ryûtsûshi*, pp. 261–262.

21) *Sung-shih*, Bk. 491, fol. 3 *a*; FUJITA, *Tôzai kôshôshi no kenkyû*, *Nankaihen*, p. 497: OBATA, *Nihon kahei ryûtsûshi*, p. 9; MORI, *Nissô bôeki no kenkyû*, pp. 272–277.

22) PAUTHIER, p. 539 n. 2.

23) MORI, *Nissô bôeki no kenkyû*, pp. 353–357, 515–525, 566 ff. But in some cases the Japanese merchants were very badly treated by officials of the government of Yüan, who were suspicious of their criminal intention. See also KASHIWABARA (Shôzô), *Nichigen bôeki no kenkyû*, *Shigaku Zasshi*, XXV, 1914.

24) TSUNODA, *Japan in Chinese dynastic histories*, pp. 11, 32.

25) *Konjaku Monogatari* (ed. *Iwanami Collection*), IV, Tôkyô, 1953, pp. 204–205 (Bk. 26, *Chinzei Sadashige no jûsha Yodo ni oite tama o kaietaru hanashi*, Dai 16); *Ujishûi Monogatari* (ed. *Kotenzenshû*) Tôkyô, 1927, pp. 274–278 (Bk. 14, *Tama no atai muryô no koto*).

26) MORI, *Nissô bôeki no kenkyû*, p. 267.

27) MORI, *ibid.*, p. 268.

28) *Wakan sansai zue*, Bk. 47.

29) ONO (Ranzan), *Jûshû Honzôkômoku keimô*, Bk. 31.

30) *Yüan-shih*, Bk. 208, fol. 5 *b*.

31) *Kao-li-shih* (ed. Kokusho-kankôkai), Bk. 102 (Vol. III, p. 202); IKEUCHI, *Genkô no shinkenkyû*, I, pp. 29–42).

32) But the situation was slightly changed from the end of the reign of Khubilai, who became aware of the revenge of the Japanese against the Mongol invasions. This meant the Japanese merchants were treated sometimes in a very unfriendly way. Cf. MORI, *Nissô bôeki no kenkyû*, pp. 366–370, 516–524.

33) *Shin-shih* (ed. Wên-tien-ko of 1936), p. 55. As for the *Shin-shih*, see KUWABARA (Jitsuzô), *P'u Shou-kêng*, 1st ed., Shanghai, 1923, pp. 159 ff. (2nd ed., Tôkyô, 1935, pp. 120 ff.; *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, VII, 1935, pp. 7 ff.).

34) Biography of Chao Liang-pi in the *Yüan-shih*, Bk. 159, fol. 3 *b*.

35) URIU (Tora), *Marco Polo kikô*, Tôkyô, 1911, p. 419 n. 4 and O. FRANKE, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, V, Berlin, 1952, S. 212 are of the opinion that Vonsamchin is a corruption of Von-chiang-chün or General Von. But it will be more probable that it is a corrupted form of Von-ch'êng-hsiang or Minister Von, seeing that Fan Wên-hu was appointed Yu-ch'êng-hsiang or Minister of the second rank in the Military Office specially established to conquer Japan. As for the title of Fan Wên-hu, see IKEUCHI, *Genkô no shinkenkyû*, I, pp. 363, 365.

36) *Yüan-shih*, Bk. 208, fol. 6 *b*.

37) PAUTHIER, pp. 544–545 n. 5.

38) Some people hold that Marco Polo was in the position to be well informed on Mongol invasions of Japan, which must be quite an unfounded view. For instance, see SAEKI (Yoshirô), *Shina Kirisutokyô no kenkyû*, II, Tôkyô, 1942, p. 543 (DO., *Marco Polo no Tôhôbunkenroku*, Tôkyô, 1945, p. 57).

39) Various editions of Marco Polo in the Morrison Collection are catalogued in the *Catalogue of the Asiatic Library of Dr. G. E. Morrison*, II, Tôkyô, 1924, pp. 532–539.

40) According to Saeki (*Shina Kirisutokyô no kenkyû*, II, p. 512 and *Marco Polo no Tôhôbunkenroku*, p. 17), at the end of the 19th century Uriu published a Japanese translation of Marco Polo on the basis of the edition of J. Pinkerton (*The curious and remarkable voyages and travels of Marco Polo*, in *A general history and collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels*, III, pp. 101–178, London, 1808–1814). This may be the first Japanese translation of Marco Polo. Here is a list of Japanese translations of Marco Polo, excluding this first translation by Uriu.

1: URIU (Tora), *Marco Polo kikô*. Tôkyô: Hakubunkan, 1911, pp. (3) + 17 + 16 + 517. With 2 plates and 5 maps. (Based mainly on Marsden, compared with Yule).
2: UBUKATA (Toshirô), *Marco Polo ryokôki*. 2 vols., Tôkyô: Shinchôsha, 1913, pp. 5 + 10 + 195, 4 + 7 + 202. With a map. (Shinchôbunko Collection) (translation of *The Travel of Marco Polo*, London and New York, 1907, in the Everyman's Library).
3: FUKAZAWA (Shôsaku), *Marco Polo ryokôki*. Tôkyô: Kaizôsha, 1930, pp. 402 (Kaizôbunko Collection) (translated from M. Komroff, *Travels of Marco Polo*, New York, 1930).
4: IWAMURA (Shinobu), *Marco Polo no kenkyû*, I, Tôkyô: Chikumashobô, 1948, pp. 12 + 10 + 498 (translation of a composite text prepared by the translator himself).
5: AOKI (Tomitarô), *Marco Polo ryokôki*. Tôkyô: Kawadeshobô, 1954, pp. 8 + 361. With 4 plates and 1 map (translation of Yule, compared with Pauthier and Marsden).

I hope this list will be able to add something to the one prepared by Mr. G. SCOGNAMIGLIO (*Saggio di bibliografia poliana* in *L'Italia che scrive*, XXXVII, 10, 1954, pp. 143–148), which is dealing with European and American editions and translations of Marco Polo.

41) *China Review*, XXV, 1901, pp. 193–194; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 3rd series, XVII, 1904, pp. 128–131. Cf. CORDIER, *Ser Marco Polo, Notes and Addenda*, London, 1920, pp. 5–8.

42) *Shigaku Zasshi*, XXV, 1914, p. 799; *Ibid.*, XXVII, 1915, pp. 290–294; *Tanaka Suiichirô shigaku ronbunshû*, Tôkyô, 1932, pp. 10–15.

43) *BEFEO*, 1904, p. 768; *TP*, 1914, p. 638; CORDIER, *Ser Marco Polo, Notes and Addenda*, p. 8; *TP*, 1928, pp. 158–164.

44) *Shina Kirisutokyô no kenkyû*, II, Tôkyô, 1943, pp. 545–548. See also Fêng Ch'êng-chün's introductory note to his translation of CHARIGNON (*Ma-k'o Po-lo hsing-chi*, I, Shanghai, 1936, pp.3–4) and L. OLSCHKI, *Poh-lo: une question d'onomatologie chinoise*, *Oriens*, III, 1950, pp. 183–189.

45) See note 50, 8.

46) *Yule–shi chû Marco Polo hosei nisoku* (*Two corrections of Yule's notes to Marco Polo*), *Tôzai kôshôshi no kenkyû*, *Nankaihen*, pp. 69–77. This was originally published in the *Tôyô Gakuhô*, III, 1913.

47) *Cordier–shi no shincho Marco Polo o yomu* (*Some notes on Cordier's Ser Marco Polo, Notes and Addenda*), *Shinagaku*, I, 9, 1920, pp. 709–719.

48) *Marco Polo no tsutaetaru Môkyô jijô* (*Inner Mongolia as described by Marco Polo*), *Tôyôshi Kenkyû*, IV, 4–5, 1939, pp. 133–160 (421–441).

49) *Seishû matô: Marco Polo ryokôki ni taisuru ichikôsatsu* (*Sinjumatu ~ Chi–chou–ma–t'ou, a note on Marco Polo's travel*), *Ritsumeikan Bungaku*, LIV, 1948. As for the identification of Sinjumatu, see also A. C. Moule, *Marco Polo's Sinjumatsu*, *TP*, 1912, pp. 431–433 and *Jûsan–seiki tôzai kôtsûshi iosetsu*, Tôkyô, 1939, p. 264, by Iwamura (Shinobu), who identifies it with Hsin–chou–ma–t'ou.

50) 1: Fujieda (Akira), *Marco Polo ryokôki no kinkan shokôchûbon ni tsuite* (*Bibliographical survey of modern editions and traslations of Marco Polo*), *Tôyôshi Kenkyû*, III, 3 and 5, IV, 3, 1938–1939.

2: Itô (Nobumi), *Marco Polo kenkyû no tameni* (*On the necessity of Marco Polo study*), *Shoshigaku*, X, 1938, pp. 205–206.

3: Iwamura (Shinobu), *Marco Polo to Rashîdu–'d–dîn* (*Marco Polo and Rashîdu–'d–dîn*), *Chûgoku-bungaku Geppô*, XLI, 1938.

4: Do., *Jûsan–seiki tôzai kôtsûshi josetsu* (*Introduction to the study of history of intercourse between Europe and Asia in the 13th century*), Tôkyô, 1939, pp. 231–309, 270–279.

5: Do., *Moule–Pelliot–ban Marco Polo ryokôki ni tsuite* (New edition of Marco Polo by Pelliot and Moule), *Tôamondai*, II, 9, 1940 (1941 ?).

6: Kanda (Kiichirô), *H. Cordier, Ser Marco Polo. Shinagaku*, I, 1, 1920. (A recension).

7: Otagi (Matsuo), *Marco Polo Genchô taizai nenjikô* (*A chronological study of Marco Polo's stay in China*), *Bunka*, XV, 2, 1951 (March, pp. 31–44).

8: Saeki (Yoshirô), *Marco Polo no Tôhôbunkenroku ni tsuite* (*A study of Marco Polo's Travel*) in *Shina Kirisutokyô no kenkyû*, II, pp. 500–548. This was later published separately under the title of *Marco Polo no Tôhôbunkenroku*, Tôkyô, 1945, pp. (2) + 64 (Seimeibunko Collection).

9: Shimada (Sadahiko), *Marco Polo no mita Khubilai–kôtei no Jôto* (*Shang–tu as described by Marco Polo*), *Kankô Tôa* (*Môkyô Tokushûgô*), 1938 (December).

10: Yoshiwara (Kôhei), *Marco Polo ikô* (A new idea about Marco Polo), *Rekishi*, V, 1937.

51) Compare L. Olschki's recension in *JAOS*, LXXI, 2, 1951, pp. 158–159. However, Olschki is not right when he says that the reproduction was edited by Professor Iwamura, who just edited the pamphlet attached to the reproduction.

Edition: the Chinese standard histories cited here are of smaller edition of Chu–chien–chai.